

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 26364

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, KS, KN

SUBJECT: KOREA IN 28TH UNGA

REF: STATE 196918

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FRENCH WISH TO AVOID CONFLICT IN UNGA OVER THE TWO OPPOSING RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING KOREA, BUT HAVE FOUND NO WAY TO DO SO DESPITE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PRC. THEY MAY CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRC IN NEW YORK. THE UK BELIEVES GOF WILL ABSTAIN ON BOTH RESOLUTIONS AND DOES NOT INTEND TO APPROACH FRENCH AGAIN. THERE MAY BE SOME LAST MINUTE CHANGES -- IN WHICH CASE THEY THINK MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD WOULD BE DIRECT ROK DEMARCHE TO FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN SEOUL. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBOFF DISCUSSED KOREAN PROBLEMS BEFORE THE UNGA WITH QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA OCTOBER 9. DUZER, WHO HAD APPARENTLY JUST COMPLETED SOME BRIEFING PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT FOR FON MIN JOBERT, FOR HIS RETURN TO NEW YORK, SAID GOF WAS PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED NOW WITH THE DIVISION WHICH THE TWO RESOLUTIONS WOULD CREATE WITHIN THE UNGA. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE DISPUTE WAS NO LONGER ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TWO RESOLUTIONS, BUT A LINING UP OF THE "WESTERN" COUNTRIES AGAINST THE
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COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND THE "NON-ALIGNED" THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

THE PROBLEMS THEREFORE REMAINS AS IT WAS THREE YEARS AGO BUT IN A DIFFERENT FORM; WINNING A VOTE THIS YEAR WOULD ONLY LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER VOTES IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS IN WHICH THE ROK RISKED SEEING ITS POSITION AGAIN INCREASINGLY ERODED.

3. DUZER SAID THE GOF HAD SPOKEN WITH THE PRC, AND THEY WOULD HAVE FURTHER INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THEM IN NEW YORK. GOF CONSIDERED THE NUB OF THE PROBLEM WAS FINDING SOME FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO THE COMMUNISTS (PARTICULARLY PEKING AND PYONG YANG) AND SEOUL; THEN THE ALGIERS GROUP WOULD HAVE NO ISSUE ON WHICH TO BUILD A CONFRONTATION WITH THE "WESTERN" COUNTRIES IN THE UNGA. DUZER THOUGH THE PRC WAS CAUGHT IN A DILEMMA. ALTHOUGH IT WISHED TO GIVE MAXIMUM DIPLOMATIC AND PROPAGANDA SUPPORT TO THE DPRK, IT WAS NOT ANXIOUS TO SEE US FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM ROK. (THE PRC HAD IMPLIED, BUT NOT SPECIFICALLY STATED, THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING A VACUUM RESULTING FROM WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES.) THE PRC HAD TOLD THE FRENCH THAT IT "UNDERSTOOD" THE FRENCH POSITION OF AVOIDING A COLLISION IN THE UNGA, BUT THE PRC APPARENTLY DID NOT KNOW ANY WAY OUT OF THE DILEMMA.

4. THE FRENCH DO NOT HAVE AT THIS TIME ANY CONCRETE PROPOSAL, AND HAVE NO INDICATION THAT PEKING WILL EVEN BE INTERESTED IN FINDING A COMPROMISE. THE FRENCH CONSIDER THAT THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF GETTING PEKING TO ACCEPT ANY FORMULA CONCERNING DOUBLE REPRESENTATION OF THE KOREAS IN THE UN. IN ANY CASE, THE GOF DOES NOT CONSIDER THAT THIS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE KOREAN PROBLEM; COMMUNIST ACCEPTANCE OF THE REALITY OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND ARMIES IN KOREA IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN MEMBERSHIP OF TWO OR ONE KOREAS IN THE UN. SUCH AN ACCEPTANCE OF REALITY WITHOUT ANY INSISTENCE ON LEGAL POSITIONS MIGHT AVOID THE KIND OF CONFRONTATION WHICH WOULD REALLY JEOPARDIZE THE INTERESTS OF THE ROK.

5. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THE CONFRONTATION IN THE UNGA OVER KOREA RISKED REDUCING THE USEFULNESS OF THE UNGA. IT WAS CLEAR THAT ASIAN "NON-ALIGNED" DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DID NOT SUPPORT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION; THE AFRICAN ENTHUSIASM FOR THE RESOLUTION WAS LESS BECAUSE OF ITS SUBSTANCE THAN BECAUSE OF THE CHANCE

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WHICH IT OFFERED TO SUPPORT A COMMUNIST RESOLUTION.

6. DUZER ASKED WHETHER THE US HAD ANY PLAN OF TALKING WITH THE COMMUNISTS (PARTICULARLY THE PRC) TO WORK OUT SOME SOLUTION FROM THE IMPASSE, PERHAPS THROUGH SCRAPPING BOTH RESOLUTIONS. DUZER ADVISED THE ABANDONMENT OF ANY REPRESENTATION FORMULA IN ANY COMPROMISE PROPOSED TO THE PRC.

7. PRIOR TO THE CONVERSATION WITH DUZER, EMBOFF COORDINATED WITH UK COLLEAGUE (RENWICK), BUT WAS UNABLE TO DO SO WITH KOREANS WHO SAID ONLY KNOWLEDGEABLE DIPLOMAT (MINISTER SHINN) WAS ABSENT FROM PARIS. RENWICK SAID THAT PREVIOUS UK SOUNDINGS OF THE FRENCH HAD RESULTED IN THE CONCLUSION THAT FRANCE WOULD ABSTAIN ON BOTH RESOLUTIONS. FRANCE WOULD JUSTIFY ITS POSITION ON THE GROUNDS THAT ALGERIAN PROPOSAL WAS "TOO EXTREME" AND FRIENDLY RESOLUTION DID NOT INDICATE SPECIFICALLY ENOUGH THAT THE UNC SHOULD BE DISBANDED. THE UK HAD TOLD THE GOF OF ITS FIRM SUPPORT FOR ITS OWN DECLARATION, BUT THOUGHT THERE WAS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF CHANGING THE GOF POSITION AT THIS TIME. THE UK THOUGHT THAT IF THERE WERE SOME LAST MINUTE AMENDMENTS IN THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION, IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO HAVE THE ROK CALL IN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN SEOUL TO EXERT MAXIMUM DIRECT PERSUASION.
IRWIN

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